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ABSTRACT

This paper presents examples of types of corporal punishment and a content analysis of newspaper articles since 1977 dealing with corporal punishment in public and nonpublic schools. Examples are used to illustrate types of punishment, paddling injuries, injuries to other parts of the body, special punishments devised by teachers, deaths due to physical punishment, and punishments administered to special education students. The content analysis used 212 reports which contained data on the sex and job position of the educator, the sex and age of the student, the nature of the infraction, and the severity of the punishment. Student infractions were divided into violent and nonviolent categories. Punishments were divided into cases that required medical treatment, cases that resulted in physical injury not requiring medical treatment, and cases thought by parents to be improperly administered. Results indicated differences by sex in the frequency of both meting out and receiving punishment. The incidence of punishment was found to increase up to junior high school, and severity of the punishment was found to be related to sex but not to age or to the violence of the offense. Results are discussed in terms of the educational system and prevailing cultural norms. It is concluded that lawsuits may provide the impetus for the development of more adequate guidelines for the use of corporal punishement. However, the failure of current guidelines to protect children suggests that corporal punishment should be abolished. (CB)

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Analysis of Recent Corporal Punishment Cases Reported in National Newspapers[1]

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Over the past four years of the Reagan administration, there has been a growing movement in the United States to return to "the basics" in education. There is also an increased concern over the reported lack of discipline in our nation's schools (Cordes, 1984). Although there are six states (New Jersey, Maine, Vermont, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Hawaii) in addition to 58 major American cities (e.g., Chicago, Boston, San Francisco, New York, and Atlanta) which ban the use of corporal punishment (Irwin Hyman, personal communication, April 6, 1984), more than one million students (Peace, 1983) in the nation's public schools are paddled each year.

Types of Punishment

The punishments may be viewed as severe when the detailed accounts of the cases are investigated. In several districts which sanction the use of corporal punishment, the administration has issued "regulation" instruments to be utilized by its staff. For example, in some districts the educators may be given paddles (Atteberry, 1980), leather straps (Smith, 1982), or a "thin rattan" (Rule & Zoeckler, 1977). There are incidents of staff personnel who have modified these implements. Some have wrapped the paddles with masking tape (Hudgins, 1982). Others had holes drilled in the paddle so the air would not be able to "work as a cushion" ("The Paddling," 1977). One case involved the teacher's name being drilled across the paddle ("15-year-old," 1977).

In contrast to many people's belief that corporal punishment is meted out by a standarized or authorized implement, there are many reported accounts which show that other instruments have been used instead of the recommended paddle, strap, or rattan. Besides a wooden paddle, children have been

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hit with various objects which are readily available and/or easily accessible to an educator. This runs counter to the myth that there are certain standardizations set which attempt to govern this form of punishment in our nation's schools.

Children throughout the United States have been hit with a: hand ("Suit Filed," 1977), "doubled-over" belt ("Who is," 1982), lacrosse stick (Blaker, 1977), Jai Alai stick (Blaker, 1977), tennis shoe (Ruble, 1977), fist (Eyre, 1979), clipboard ("Teacher Gets," 1979), baseball bat which was "shaved down into a ceremonial" paddle (Titone, 1977), arrow (Howard, 1978), electrical cord (Hale, 1981), bamboo stick (Hamilton, 1982), a rubber (Reid, 1981) or leather ("Teacher Sentenced," 1978) strap, pencil ("Parents File," 1983), yardstick ("Suit Claims Coach," 1983), ping-pong paddle ("Youth Home," 1979), "one by four board" ("Parents Say," 1981), stick which "was used to point out things on a bulletin board" ("Teacher Faces," 1982), broomstick (Bracey, 1981), "ten foot piece of wood" (Hoffman, 1982), hammer ("Charges Teacher," 1982), rattan (Rule & Zoeckler, 1977), wooden (Woodhams, 1981) or plastic (Haynes, 1979) ruler, rubber paddle (Row, 1980), metal ("Teacher Charged," 1983) or steel pipe (Rollins, 1980), Jocari game paddle ("Angry Parents," 1983), and a wooden drawer divider (Riley, 1983).

In addition they have been subjected to the cutting off of their hair; they have been put in a storeroom, box, cloak room, closet, and/or school vault; thrown against a wall, desk, and/or concrete pillar; forced to run the "gauntlet" or "belt line"; forced to perform punishment push-ups; stuck with a pin; had their mouth, hands, and/or body taped; disrobed in private or before peers; made to stand on their toes for long periods of time; punched; dragged by the arm and/or hair; had meals withheld; choked; forced the child to lay on a wet floor in their clothing; forced to eat cigarettes; tied to a chair with rope; as well as forced to sit at a desk in a coat room with constant criticism (Clarke, Liberman, & Hyman, 1980).

Some children also have been disciplined with a metal cattle prod ("Teacher Charged in," 1981) and an electrostatic generator ("Hispanics Accept," 1979) as devices of punishments. A nine-year-old learning disabled pupil had a "three and a half-inch rubber-tipped stick" applied to the muscles of his body which reportedly left "dark red marks 'about the size of a dime up and down his back'" (Goodrich, 1982). An investigator who underwent the "pressure technique" found it was "excruciatingly painful."

Paddling Injuries

Although most (if not all) regulations on the use of corporal punishment emphatically state that the administration should not be "excessive" nor meted out "in anger or malice," this has not been found to be entirely true in many cases. Most believe

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that corporal punishment only leaves transient bruises which last for a few hours. In the case of the paddling of a seven-year-old (Atrent, 1979), the bruises lasted two weeks. Another child was hospitalized with head injuries for 10 days (Nihen, 1976).

Paddling cases have included students who have developed "red welts" on their buttocks ("Principal Cleared," 1977) or over their back "from his belt (line) to his shoulders" (Dagley, 1983). In other incidences, children have suffered "blistering welts" (Kalwary, 1979) or "blood blisters" (Caltabiano, 1982). Some of these bruises and welts range from a four-inch by six- to eight-inch welt ("Parents Bring," 1981), an eight-inch bruise ("Teacher's Appeal," 1976), or "identical three- to four-inch hematomas on each buttock" (Jones, 1977) after being paddled. Some have developed blood clots ("School Paddling," 1977) or broken veins (Davis, 1982) and/or blood vessels were broken ("District Attorney's," 1982) in the area which was struck by the educator. Another child developed "large purplish-red blotches" on her legs and on her arm which reportedly caused the child "great pain" (Ewing, 1979) after being spanked.

Many of us are likely to underestimate the extent of injury incurred in a paddling. A fifth grader suffered "sciatic nerve damage" (Markley, 1980) after a paddling. Children had their legs (Pekarski, 1978) become numb and "lost use of (their) arm" (McGonigle, 1978) after the paddling. Some have required treatment for "skin and muscle injuries" (Row, 1980). After a six-year-old boy was paddled "from just below the beltline to the tops of his legs," a physician determined that "the first inch or so of his flesh (had) been damaged" (Howard, 197[illegible] Another boy was taken to a hospital thirty minutes after his [illegible]ddling to undergo "emergency surgery for 'a rupture'" due [illegible] an injury to his testicles (Razler, 1980). Some have sustained "possible permanent damage" to the buttocks and legs (Colvin, 1982).

Other Injuries

Usually corporal punishment is perceived to be administered to only the buttocks area of the child. The following is a list of body parts injured in corporal punishment cases reported in the press. Students in our nation's schools have sustained injuries on their ribs (Seigel, 1981), chest (Colter, 1978), back (Harrison, 1981), jaw ("Pupil's Jaw," 1978), ear (Kiesling, 1980), hip (Hudgins, 1982), skull (Rollins, 1980), scalp (Chira, 1982), shoulder (Witherspoon, 1981), elbow ("Teacher Summons," 1977), back of hand ("Teacher Retires," 1981), palm of hand (Haynes, 1979), knuckles ("Parents File," 1983), arms ("Charges Teacher," 1982), legs ("Teacher 'Sentenced'," 1978), thighs (Fister, 1979), knee ("Suit Claims Boy," 1978), stomach (Hernandez, 1982), neck ("Mahopac School," 1980), forehead (Haynes, 1979), cheek (Hernandez, 1982), lip (Kraft, 1979), mouth (Smith, 1980), hair (Sullivan, 1980), eyebrow (Barrineau, 1981),

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nose ("Chester County," 1983), eye (Eichenberger, 1978), facial bone (Eichenberger, 1978), esophagus (Smith, 1980), spine ("High School," 1983), coccyx bone ("Spanking Issue," 1978), collarbone (Richardson, 1982), and teeth ("Youth Injured," 1983).

When the infliction of the physical punishment is not focused in the buttocks area, other injuries tend to occur with similarly devastating effects on the child's body. Some have sustained headaches from being hit on the head (Jochimsen, 1982) or felt dizzy when hit over the head by a piece of wood (Hoffmann, 1982); sustained a cerebral concussion and sprained neck (Gibbs, 1977); left with "impaired hearing" after being thrown against a wall and struck ("Boy Sues," Undated); suffered a perforated eardrum after struck on the side of the head ("Parents Sue," 1979); sustained a "sprained arm and facial abrasions" when the child's arm was twisted behind her back and she was wrestled to the ground ("Teacher Pleads," 1979); vomited blood after being kicked (Hunt, 1982); had bloody (Brush, 1982) and fractured noses ("Chester County," 1983); had a "two-inch patch of hair" pulled out the head (Sullivan, 1980); left with "a five-inch cut" on the side of the face after a spanking (Birkland, 1981); required six stitches to close the wound on the mouth when hit with a paddle ("Erie Teacher," 1981); "suffered a gash in (the) eye that required seven stitches" and a "possible hairline fracture of the bones beneath the damaged eye" (Eichenberger, 1978); had "blurred vision" after being thrown against a wall ("Mahopac School," 1980); and a "tail bone (which) was deeply bruised" after being kicked (Schoppenhorst, 1982). An eighth grade boy had two teeth chipped and had the "ligaments in his mouth" torn when his teacher struck him in the mouth with his lunch bag which contained a twelve-ounce bottle of pop ("Youth Injured," 1983).

The force of an educator's blow may be considered excessive since in many cases various body parts were damaged in the process. These include a fractured nose ("Chester County," 1983), fractured skull (Rollins, 1980), hairline fracture of the spine (Callaway, 1982), fractured arm ("Parents Seek," 1979), fractured shoulder ("Court Rules," 1980), fractured bone in the hand ("Child Service," 1978), broken knee cap ("Suit Claims Boy," 1978), a broken jaw ("Pupil's Jaw," 1978), and an injured coccyx bone ("Spanking Issue," 1978). In other cases, parts were separated by the force of the punishment. A girl's hip was "knocked out of joint" after a paddling (Hudgins, 1982) and a seventh grade boy suffered a "separated cartilage in his shoulder" after being grabbed and dragged by his teacher (Deller, 1979).

Devised Punishments

There are some educators who devise their own form of punishment, at times, with unexpected results. A fifth grade teacher of the deaf disciplined a student by sticking a straight pin in the child's leg for "goofing off." The child later

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"developed blood poisoning" (Smith, 1978). A twelve-year-old boy suffered second degree burns when he was disciplined by the teacher "holding a cup of hot water over the boy when the water spilled" ("Teacher Suspended," 1982). A metal-shop teacher put a "student's hands into the shop vise as a disciplinary measure" (Hinch, 1982). Two children had their noses pinched by their teacher causing severe nose bleeding ("Shelby Teacher," 1983). Pupils have also been subjected to being tied to their chair ("Two Teachers," 1982) and desk ("Hand Tying," 1982) causing limbs to become numb.

A second grader suffered an "irritated mouth and esophagus" after her teacher "forced her to rinse her mouth out with liquid hand soap containing lye" (Smith, 1980). A physician stated that the child's "mouth was blistered and her esophagus (also) was blistered." Children have had pepper (Drake, 1980) and Tabasco sauce (Butterfield, 1983) put into their mouth; another was forced to drink water from an aquarium (Urban, 1982).

A sixth grader sustained a concussion after falling down steps at school. He was forced to "carry the entire locker's contents around with him the rest of the day" as a penalty for forgetting his books ("Telford Woman," 1979). After a teacher took crutches away, a child was forced to walk on the injured leg which later required additonal medical treatment (Bracey, 1981).

Some punishments centered around problems which occurred in the school cafeteria. A child had her lunch thrown out because she misbehaved (Dieter, 1978). Some children were required to eat lunch facing a wall while holding their tray as a form of punishment (Briseno, 1980). A nine-year-old boy was physically restrained and force-fed broccoli because he did not finish eating his school lunch. The boy, who later vomited, was treated for strained ligaments in his right arm at a hospital. According to the report of the incident, a rule of the school "is that a child bring his lunch from home or eat the lunch he purchases at school." The child had bought two lunches that day which consisted of pizza, macaroni, and broccoli (Benedict, 1983).

Other problems were incurred as a result of the imposition of punishment drills. Seventh to ninth graders were forced to crawl on hot concrete around a "pool three times on hands and knees" causing blistering on both the hands and legs ("Gym Class," 1977). Football drills have resulted in a knee injury requiring a cast (Koonse, 1976) and a fractured leg (Kelly, 1979). A nine-year-old girl was forced to do three hundred push-ups by her teacher. After completing one hundred, the child collapsed. She later developed swollen arms that night (Schabath, 1979).

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Deaths

Some deaths have been associated with punishment drills imposed during school activities. An eighteen-year-old football player was required to complete "a mammoth series of punishment drills" which included: ten 50-yard dashes, ten 100-yard dashes, two 100-yard bear crawls, 50 situps, 50 pushups, four 100-yard drills, and finally had to run the entire field both ways before his death ("Player's Punishment," 1978). A seven-year-old girl was forced to run a lap of about 170 yards around the exercise area. The 47 pound youngster collapsed and died after completing the lap (Richardson, 1981). After a twelve-year-old boy was spanked twice "with a wooden 'paddle-like object'" on the leg, he died later from "cardio-respiratory arrest due to intracerebral hemotoma and right occipital cerebral vascular accident" (Ellison, 1981). The parents allege that the spanking caused "emotional and mental stress" which, in turn, "caused the blood vessel to burst."

Special Education Students

Special education students do not appear to be protected against this practice. Many of these exceptional children are vulnerable (both physically and emotionally) due to their handicaps. Not only have emotionally disturbed (Woodhams, 1981), deaf (Smith, 1978), mentally retarded (Bliss, 1982), children with cerebral palsy (Bliss, 1982) or "kidney illness" ("Parents Upset," 1977), and/or learning disabled (Goodrich, 1982) students been subjected to physical punishment at the hands of an educator, the files are replete with other exceptionalities.

For example, an "arthritic and rheumatic" third grade boy was spanked (with a wooden drawer divider) even after the parent indicated that she did not want her child spanked (Riley, 1983). Due to the stress of being spanked, a seven-year-old child had an epileptic seizure. This was the first convulsion she had in over a year (Copeland, 1978). An asthmatic ten-year-old girl was "struck across the chest" because she mispronounced a word during reading class (Cisneros, 1983).

A kindergarten girl, whose chest "begins to hurt when she gets excited" because of recent open heart surgery, had her mouth taped shut (Stein, 1978) and a seven-year-old boy with a heart murmur was paddled (Zamarr, 1983). A blind four-year-old boy received a paddling from his elementary principal ("Corporal Punishment," 1979). It was related that the child's blindness was "the result of his being beaten as an infant by his natural parents." A boy with muscular dystrophy was treated "for abrasions and contusions" after being hit "about the left and right knees and thighs with a ruler" ("Did Lie," 1983).

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The purpose of the present analysis is to determine the extent to which certain variables are associated when a punishment is administered to students. A content analysis of corporal punishment cases was performed to reveal the extent of its effects on our children.

Method

Subjects

The sample population only involved newspaper reports of those children who were of school age (5 - 20 years of age) and who were enrolled in a tradtional school setting (either public or nonpublic). Staff (teachers, principles, bus drivers, etc.) comprised those personnel from kindergarten level through twelfth grade. Cases which involved pre-school, vocational, and/or higher education were not analyzed.

Materials

This compilation of divergent corporal punishment cases was obtained from the newspaper clipping library at the National Center for the Study of Corporal Punishment and Alternatives in Schools, Temple University. Other cases possibly exist and may have occurred in today's classrooms, but these have not been reported and/or detected in the newspaper(s). The authors realize that the reporting of the cases may be inherently biased. Newspapers may only report the extreme cases. Additionally, only those children whose parents were willing to advocate on their behalf may have been included.

The majority of the cases contained in this paper encompass those articles purchased from the Luce Press Clipping service. The Center receives these articles from the End Violence Against the Next Generation, Inc. (EVAN-G) in California. The Luce Press Clipping service receives approximately 1800 dailies and over 7000 weeklies from across the nation. Additionally, the service scans over 4000 consumer and trade magazines. The representation includes large city and small town newspapers whose editorial opinions range from liberal to conservative. This service conducted a study, in 1978, to determine the percentage of newspaper articles located by their employees on a particular subject. The results of this study indicated that 80% of such articles were detected (Richard Behnke, personal communication, March 28, 1984).

Procedure

From a total of 846 reported cases in the nationwide newspapers in the Center's collection, a sample population of 212 cases was extracted. This sample was chosen on the basis of

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those which contained the six selected variables (i.e., the sex of the educator, the sex of the pupil, the nature of the infraction, the severity of the punishment, the job position of the staff member, and the age of the student) within the obtained newspaper account(s).

The infractions were divided into two categories: violent and nonviolent. Violent acts were those which caused harm to other persons or damage to property. Examples of a violent infraction included: fighting with another at school and/or on the school bus, pulling a chair out from under another student, kicking rocks against the school building. Nonviolent acts included such violations as: playing hooky from school and/or class, possessing cigarettes, getting poor grades, staying in the bathroom too long, incorrectly pronouncing words in a kindergarten phonics class (Clarke et al., 1980).

The severity of the punishment was subdivided into three categories. The first contained those cases which required some kind of medical attention for the student as a result of the punishment. The second category included those cases which resulted in some type of physical manifestation which did not receive medical treatment, e.g., blistering, bruises, welts, etc. Lastly, the remaining group contained those incidents which were thought by the parent(s) to be improperly administered, unnecessary, and/or excessive.

Results and Discussion

A crosstabulation procedure was selected to analyze the data. Initially a chi square test was completed on pairs of variables to determine the probability that the observed relationship may have occurred by mere chance. Then an appropriate measure of association was performed to determine the degree to which the two variables under investigation were related.

Sex of Educator vs Sex of Student

The crosstabulation of sex of educator vs sex of student (see Table 1) yielded a significant chi square ($p < .01$), but there was not a strong association between the two variables (phi = .24). The Office of Civil Rights survey (Stewart, 1983) found an even higher ratio (25:1) in favor of males being paddled. Roughly four out of five students punished were male. Male educators inflicted the consequences more than three times as often as female staff. This finding is partially related to the propensity (over 80%) of males in administrative positions within the schools (Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 1982). When males physically punished students, nearly 85% of the pupils were also male; when females meted out the punishment only 62% of

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the offenders were male. Generally, male and female educators tend to use corporal punishment with opposite-sex students in equal proportion and at a low freqeuncy relative to the entire sample.

Table 1
Occurrence of Sex of Students by Sex of Educator [a]

Sex of Students	Sex of Educator: Males	Sex of Educator: Females
Males	64.8% n = 138	14.6% n = 31
Females	11.7% n = 25	8.9% n = 19

[a] Results of crosstabulation procedure
Chi square = 10.65, df = 1, $p < .01$
Phi = .24

These findings seem to corroborate and quantify common sex-role assumptions present in our schools. First, it may be believed necessary and acceptable to control boys' behavior with physical force. The social taboo against males hitting females lend girls relative immunity from corporal punishment. Further, Duker felt that girls may model more passive behavior (Stewart, 1983) and, therefore, may not warrant such extreme discipline. Perhaps girls' misbehaviors tend to be more covert. Secondly, the application of punishment (and resultant bodily harm) falls within the province of manly perogatives. Just as naughty children must "wait for their father to come home," students wait until male staff are available to enforce the rules. Also, the recalcitrant student may be perceived by male staff as a threat to his authority and sex role identity (Gelles, 1973). Invoking social learning theory, male students observe people being controlled by valued adults (those with prestige, authority, high salary, etc.) through violent means. Over generations, the

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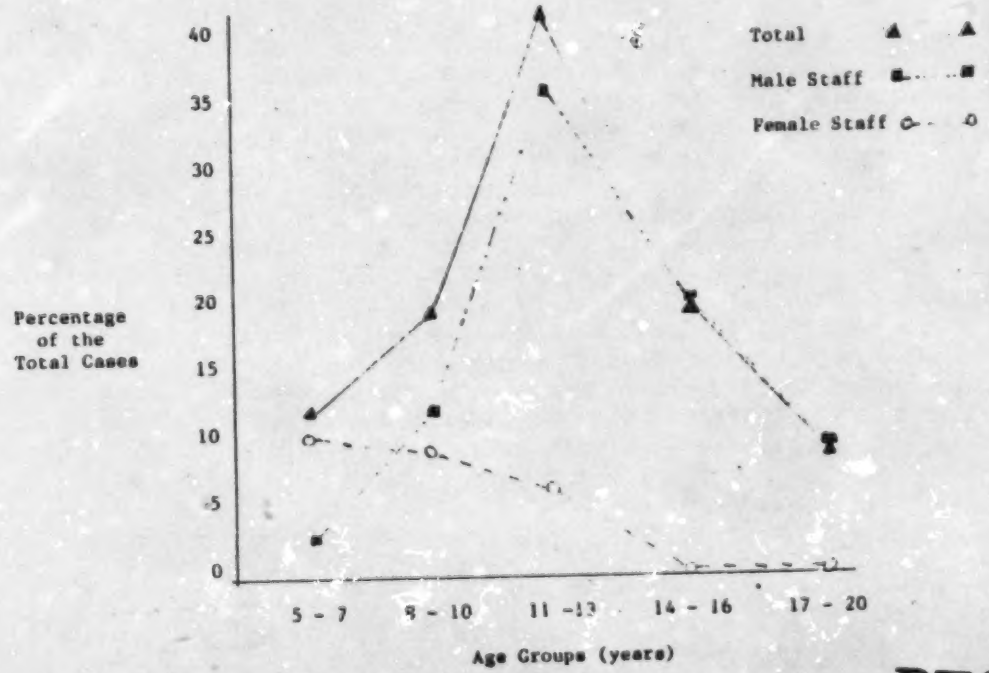
persistence of corporal punishment is not difficult to understand.

Sex of Educator vs Age of Student

The crosstabulation of sex of educator vs age of student yielded a significant chi square ($p < .01$). In a follow-up test of association, the eta coefficient (.57) indicated a high positive relationship between these two variables.

This relationship is graphically represented in Figure 1. From the obtained sample, a low frequency of primary grade students was involved in corporal punishment. As student's age increased, the frequency rose sharply, peaked in the junior high school years, then dropped off dramatically for older students. The major contribution to this trend, as reported previously, was the participation of the males. The curve for the male staff mirrored the overall results. In the cases studied, a greater proportion of corporal punishment in the primary grades was administered by females than by males. The frequency of female staff involved in corporal punishment declined as student age increased. No student age thirteen or older was physically punished by a female teacher.

Figure 1
Percentage of the Total Cases of Corporal Punishment for Each Age Group



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These patterns reflect our everyday observations. A higher percentage of primary grade teachers are female (Statistical Abstracts in the United States, 1982). Female staff who strike young children are less likely to have a student retaliate in kind. As the student age (and size) increases, the chances of a female teacher being at-risk in a corporal punishment situation becomes greater (Eyre, 1979).

The high incidence of corporal punishment cases among junior high school students may be related to the relative frequency of their misbehavior. As Toby (Cordes, 1984) noted, "junior high schools are more violent than senior high schools because junior high schools have a high proportion of students who would rather not be there." Viewing the overall curve, there appears to be several reasons for the low incidence of older students (14-20) involved in corporal punishment. Using physical punishment with this age group would make the educator more vulnerable to a hostile student's reaction ("School Shooting," 1978; "Student Hits," 1979).The student drop-out rate and school policies which "push-out" disruptive students may tend to distort that portion of the curve. Lastly, even proponents of corporal punishment may feel that it is inappropriate with this age group.

Severity of Punishment vs Age of Student

When comparing the variables for severity of punishment with age of child, the data (see Table 2) suggest that the degree of the severity of the punishment may not be considered when meted out to children of different ages. The chi square results did not approach statistical significance ($p < .818$); the outcome could have occurred by chance more than 80% of the time. Additionally, these two variables were not closely associated (eta = .069 with age as the dependent variable). Therefore, it appears that corporal punishment seems to be administered in a haphazard fashion without much regard to the vulnerability of the child. The younger child tends to be more susceptible to physical damage. An older pupil may be perceived as being better able to withstand more intense punishment. This is especially pertinent when the punishment is administered by an adult male who tends to be physically larger.

There are many examples of very young children who received corporal punishment. A three-year-old Illinois boy was paddled in a Christian academy for taking another child's lollipop and subsequently lying about the incident (O'Brien, 1975). A day care center used the following standards for the administration of "swats" to children: eighteen months to two and a half years, one hit; two and a half to four years, two hits; and four to six years, three hits. It was also suggested that the infliction of this punishment should not take place more than twice a day (Maurer, 1979).

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Table 1

Frequency of Occurrence of Type of Punishment for Each Age [a]

Severity of Punishment	Age of Student														
	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	20
Medical Attention Sought	n=0 0%	n=3 1.4%	n=8 3.8%	n=1 .5%	n=6 2.8%	n=7 3.3%	n=12 5.6%	n=18 8.5%	n=9 4.2%	n=9 4.2%	n=5 2.3%	n=5 2.3%	n=7 3.3%	n=3 1.4%	n=0 0%
Physical Evidence Remained	n=2 .9%	n=1 .5%	n=4 1.9%	n=4 1.9%	n=3 1.4%	n=8 3.8%	n=9 4.2%	n=14 6.6%	n=8 3.8%	n=5 2.3%	n=4 1.9%	n=2 .9%	n=2 .9%	n=2 .9%	n=2 .9%
Parent(s) Felt Excessive, Unnecessary, and/or Improper	n=0 0%	n=2 .9%	n=4 1.9%	n=1 .5%	n=6 2.8%	n=5 2.3%	n=4 1.9%	n=10 4.7%	n=3 1.4%	n=6 2.8%	n=3 1.4%	n=3 1.4%	n=2 .9%	n=3 1.4%	n=0 0%

[a] Results of crosstabulation procedure
(Chi square = 21.17, df = 28, p < .818; eta = .069 with age of child dependent)

According to the law of many states, an 18-year-old is usually considered an adult. These young adults may drink in some states, be drafted to fight for their country, marry, engage in work, register to vote, be prosecuted in court as an adult, etc. In contrast, our schools treat these young adults in a demeaning manner by continuing to physically discipline them as if they did not have rights. As can be seen from Table 2, these 18-year-olds (and older) students also have received corporal punishment.

A 15-year-old boy with "emotional problems" had been paddled repeatedly while in eighth grade. The adolescent was paddled by a school official at least 56 times during a recent two month period at the junior high school he attended (Dell, 1980). Another 14-year-old boy was paddled 96 times by a teacher's aide who was six-foot four-inches tall and weighed about 300 pounds. Another pupil in the same class had previously received 150 "licks" at one time from this same employee (Riley, 1982).

Sex of Student vs Severity of Punishment

Although the distribution of the data for the comparison of sex of student with severity of punishment was significant

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($p < .04$), the degree to which these two variables were associated was relatively low (Cramer's V = .17). The data (see Table 3) suggest that males tend to receive corporal punishment more than females as reported earlier (with 79.3% and 20.7% respectively). The results show that males also tend to receive all degrees of severity of corporal punishment more frequently than females. Although females appear to receive all levels of severity of punishment in comparable proportion, cases of corporal punishment with male students involve twice as many which required medical attention compared to those which were felt to be less severe (wherein only the parent felt the punishment was excessive, improper, and/or unnecessary).

Table 3
Occurrence of Severity of Punishment for Sex[a]

Severity of Punishment	Sex of Student: Males	Sex of Student: Females
Medical Attention Sought	35.7% n = 76	8.0% n = 17
Physical Evidence Remained	27.2% n = 58	4.7% n = 10
Parent Felt Excessive, Improper, and/or Unnecessary	16.4% n = 35	8.0% n = 17

[a] Results of crosstabulations procedure
Chi square = 6.39, df = 2, $p < .04$
Cramer's V = .17

When the sex of the pupil is ignored, the results showed that overall 43.7% (n = 93) of the sample population received medical attention after the punishment, 31.9% (n = 68) sustained some type of physical manifestation on the body, and 24.4% (n = 53) of the student's parent(s) felt that the punishment was improperly administered, excessive, and/or unnecessary. It appears that the addition of the female cases to the overall analysis did not essentially alter the trend already evidenced with the male sample. As noted earlier, these results may be attributed to a reporting bias of the sample population.

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Severity of Punishment vs Nature of Offense

When the severity of the punishment was crosstabulated with the nature of the offense, the results (see Table 4) did not approach statistical significance ($p < .54$); the data could occur by chance about 50% of the time. Additionally, there seems to be little (if any) association between the two variables (Cramer's V = .077). The results show that most of the offenses committed by the students were nonviolent (80.3%) than violent offenses (19.7%). These results essentially are consistent with a previous study (Clarke et al., 1980) which obtained 94.5% for nonviolent cases as compared to 5.5% for violent cases. The data also suggest that although there were more nonviolent offenses committed, there was little (if any) difference in the degree of severity which would be administered to the offender. The degree of severity for the punishment seemed to be meted out in an inconsistent manner by the staff involved. Apparently, the punishment does not match the offense committed, e.g., violent reprimands are not administered for violent infractions.

Table 4
Comparison of the Severity of Punishment with the Nature of the Offense [a]

	Nature of the Offense		
	Violent Acts	Nonviolent Acts	Total
Medical Attention Sought	8.5% (n = 18)	35.2% (n = 75)	43.7% (n = 93)
Physical Evidence Remained	7.5% (n = 16)	24.4% (n = 52)	31.9% (n = 68)
Parent(s) Felt Excessive, Improper and/or Unnecessary	3.8% (n = 8)	20.7% (n = 44)	24.4% (n = 52)

[a] Results of crosstabulation procedure
Chi square = 1.25, df = 2, $p < .54$
Cramer's V = .077

Many who deal (either directly or indirectly) with our youth tend to minimize the devastating effects of the use of corporal punishment. Some superintendents of schools state that "some children just bruise easily" (Burney, 1979; Throne, 1983).

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A teacher who witnessed a paddling stated later that she felt the punishment "was reasonable" and that the principal "was not aware that he was bruising them at the time or he would not have continued" with the punishment ("Boone Principal," 1977). A physician who examined a child after a paddling concluded that the bruises on the child's body were the result of "a normal paddling" ("Educators Freed," 1977). There are cases in which a judge remarked that "some will bruise easier than others...If you get struck by a paddle, you expect to have marks" (Gilhooly, 1978). Interestingly, the court decided in the Gasperjohn case that bruises were not a sign of unreasonable force despite medical testimony indicating that the student was not easily susceptible to bruising (Irwin Hyman, personal communication, April 4, 1984). An appeal court ruling of a paddling incident stated that the punishment "was reasonable" and that minor bruises "are to be expected" ("Appeal Court," 1979).

Conclusions and Recommendations

The wealth of case evidence summarized in this study and others (Clarke et al., 1980) clearly suggests American children are being hurt in public schools in the name of law and order. As described previously, political agendas, constitutional interpretations, and societal norms contribute to this ignominy,. The conclusions of behavior modification research (Skinner, 1976) clearly showed that positive reinforcement is more effective than punishment in shaping behavioral changes. Van Houten (1983) further summarized punishment research to report that incremental increases of punishment over time diminishes its effectiveness. As the vanguard of child advocacy in the schools, psychologists should work toward eliminating corporal punishment from the educational scene.

Unfortunately, corporal punishment is likely to remain an embarrassment to our educational system until several objectives are accomplished. In addition to realizing the ineffectiveness (and often the detriment) of physical punishment, educators must realize the vulnerable position they put themselves in whenever they strike a student. We concede that only a small proportion of corporal punishment cases result in civil suits or criminal charges ("Teacher Charged With," 1977) and few of those cases actually find the educator culpable. The convicted educator however has paid a heavy financial penalty ("Mahopac School," 1980; "School Board, Employee," 1982) and jeoparidized a career (Eyre, 1979). As more cases are brought before the courts, individual teachers and their professional organizations must weigh the risk of using physical discipline.

Many advocates for the use of corporal punishment recommend that the practice is needed to "maintain discipline or to enable teachers to defend themselves" (Hechinger, 1980). But this often is not the case as can be seen in the following example. A

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second grader was paddled so severely that his buttocks were found to be "raw and bleeding" when he arrived home. The boy had screamed due to another child kicking him during class and was paddled twenty times by his teacher. After the child found it too difficult to sit down, he was sent to the principal who also paddled him twenty more times (Hechinger, 1980).

Previous research (Clarke et al., 1980) reported that parents were more prone to receive favorable resolution from their local school board than the courts in corporal punishment complaints. Despite this, many cases have endeavored to sue the offending educator on the basis of the violation of the child's and/or the parent(s)' constitutional rights under the Fourteenth Amendment which forbids the imposition of cruel and unusual punishment and/or the Eighth Amendment which guarantees due process (Jones, 1977). This approach frequently has proven unproductive and unsuccessful. A West Virginia Circuit Court ruled that the "parents' due process rights had not been violated, because the general application of corporal punishment is consistent legally with the schools' interest in keeping order" (Row, 1980). When a New York child's parents took their son's paddling to court (Hechinger, 1980), the judge threw out the case because no law had been violated since educators are acting under the guise and sanctioning of "in loco parentis" protection of the law. Additionally, in many states, the plaintiff (parents/child) must substantiate that the educator imposed the reprimand with malice in addition to proving that irreparable injury had occurred as a direct result of the punishment (Duffey, 1979; Miller, 1983).

There have been a limited number of cases recently which have pressed charges of assault (or assault and battery) on the part of the staff member (Cote, 1979). Black's Law Dictionary (Black, 1951) defines assault as "an intentional, unlawful offer of corporal injury to another by force, or force unlawfully directed toward the person of another, under such circumstances as create well-founded fear of imminent peril, coupled with apparent present ability to execute attempt, if not prevented." Battery is defined as "an unlawful beating, or other wrongful physical violence or constraint, inflicted on a human being without his consent...the slightest touching of another, or of his clothes or anything else attached to his person, if done in a rude, insolent, or angry manner." Another suggestion made by the Supreme Court in the Ingraham vs Wright (1977) case implicated the Fourteenth Amendment which encompasses equal rights for all citizens. Many cases involving police brutality had selected this amendment as the basis for their appeal (Maurer, 1981). If these prove to be a more viable course of action for parents to pursue, then administrators and educators as well as school boards are encouraged to take the necessary steps to redefine their present stance on the use of corporal punishment in addition to formulating guidelines for its use to help allay

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future law suits which might prove costly (both monetarily and personally).

This viewpoint may be seen in this illustration. A juror who served on the panel of a paddling (of a three-year-old) case related that the jury would have convicted the adult of child abuse if that would have been the charge. A second juror on the same trial stated that he thought the defendent was guilty, but with reference to the specific allegations, he was innocent (O'Brien, 1975).

Not only are individuals held accountable for administering punishment, the school districts are frequently included in the lawsuit ("School Board," 1982). There is no guarantee that the district will be able to afford judgments on behalf of the plaintiff. This brings the individual taxpayer (interested or not) squarely within the field of battle. For example, the South Phoenix, Arizona taxpayers anticipate a hefty increase in property taxes in order to pay the liability incurred when a municipal policeman shot the wrong man (Cooke, 1984).

To prevent disasters of this type from occurring, the need for extensive teacher training is essential. Not only should teachers be thoroughly versed in the approved discipline techniques of their districts, they need to study the successful discipline alternatives elsewhere. The impetus for such an investment of time, effort, and money is the proper responsibility of the school administration (as representatives of school boards) and the teacher's association whose primary function is the protection of its members.

Present guidelines governing the administration of corporal punishment have not protected our youth. The procedures cannot readily legislate tempers and often do not include a monitoring component nor impose specific consequences for violators. The difficulty of operationalizing the terms "excessive" and "reasonable force" is inherent in the inadequacy of adopted codes. Any proposed guidelines which do not document parental consent, use of less intrusive alternatives, due process procedures, and an independent review by a human rights committee are clearly insufficient. It is precisely because guidelines have not served their intended purpose that the authors feel that corporal punishment in our nation's schools should be abolished.

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Footnote

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